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Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial "father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

[10] Opler, p. 210.

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After the preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two 535
sides made speeches. These were in such ancient language that 537
they were untranslatable, but the general meaning was said to be 198
as follows: 539x

Game leader for the challengers.

"Hail, friend!
Thus are my doings. Here I arrive.
We shall see the result."

Game leader of the challenged village.

"Hail, friend! Thus it has happened.
You have arrived here. You will look on my field,
Covered with drought. You will look on it.
We shall see what will be."(26)

Then the musicians, with scraping sticks and baskets, took their 535
places, and the skipping dance began. The dancers were generally ten boys and ten girls. The boys wore kilts, and the girls, the usual wrap-around skirt. They were barefoot, with their long hair flowing and with their faces and bodies painted in any way dictated by the dream of the song composer. He might decide on symbols never used before, or he might demand elaborate pictorial representations of birds and corn.

The regular formation for the skipping dance was a file of couples—boys on the right, girls on the left. They went around the dance place counterclockwise, alternately walking and skipping, in conformity with the music. This had two phases, one known as "they hold in," and one as "they give out." We may call them for brevity, the strong phase and the weak phase. In the weak phase, which always came first, the basket drums were tapped and the dancers walked, holding their symbols low. In the strong phase, the drums were scraped and symbols held with both hands above the head. It was in the strong phase that the composer introduced any mimetic movements which his dream dictated. There were eight songs, each sung eight times or sometimes sixteen.

The dance described below is the last which was given by the Indians on their own initiative, though recently they have revived [541]
it under White auspices and with an entrance fee. The one described was given in 1927, when the northern villages "sang for"

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wise, with hands clasped and fingers interlacing, as for the rain dance(19). Some describe them as leaping forward, all together, and then leaping back. The name of this circle dance was *kúihin* (leaping).[9]

The song cycle for this dance, more nearly intact than most of the others recorded, referred to the incident in I'itoi's campaign when Buzzard was captured and forced to dance around his own scalp.[10] The songs refer to Buzzard and his plight, but they also describe realistically the dance ground and the tiny incidents such as the crying of the babies and I'itoi's directions for nursing them, a novel interpolation in a war ceremony.

Some of the songs were in such archaic language that the singer himself had no idea of their meaning. He insisted that it was not a foreign tongue, merely the language of the "old people." The standard refrain *tángwi* [11] is one of these untranslatable words. So is *limhu*, mentioned by Miss Densmore as the name for all these songs.[12] The introduction is always "He, he!" uttered at the top of the singer's lungs.

SCALP SONGS(9)

2. He, he!
In a circle join and sing;
Here we sing.
Jump and sing! Jump and sing!
Look up here!
Look up here!
Look up here!

3. He, he!
Great doings!
We have not killed your husband,
He is not staggering;
Tángwi!

[9] Russell (pp. 105-6) speaks of the Pima as celebrating victory by running and riding horses in concentric circles moving in opposite directions.

[10] See p. 12.

[11] It will be noticed that *tángwi* does not occur at the end of every song as the informant at first said it should. This may be due to forgetfulness on the singer's part, since he had not heard the songs since his childhood. The songs were put down as he sang them and may furnish some indication of how changes occur.

[12] Densmore, p. 184.